3: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RL4 Turkic Peoples RL4

among the Seykym clan of the Kaizak, whose *uran* is also 'Seykym'.

Though the Kaizak belong geographically to the Iranized Turks, culturally they have on the whole much affinity with the Mongols. The majority are still nomadic cattle and horse breeders. Their method of cattle-keeping is a most luxurious one. They leave the cattle on the pastures the whole year round, hence their only care is to find a fresh pasture every season. The spring and autumn pastures may be the same. It is only recently, since more of the land has been claimed by the Russian Immigration Committee, that the Kaizak have begun to lay up winter stores for their cattle. Each clan has defined limits to its pasture lands. Under the old Russian system the pasture land used by the Kaizak belonged to the State, and they were granted the use of it, dividing it at their communal gatherings according to the number of people, cattle, and vehicles in each class. The permanent houses, gardens, arable land, and irrigation canals are hereditary.[1]

It is curious to note that the Kaizak, whose dwellings are so light and portable, bury their dead in solid structures of wood, clay, and brick. This custom also exists among the Kara-Kirghis, and was known to the old Yenisei-Kirghis. As it is not found among the non-Turkic population of Central Asia, it seems to indicate that those who practise it now are perhaps the nearest relatives of the people who built the old burial mounds of the Yenisei, called *kurgans*.

THE KARA-KALPAK ('Black Caps'), another Turkic tribe of the same group (134,313 in 1911 as against 111,799 in 1897), live in the Amu Daria district of the

[1] *Asiatic Russia*, vol. I, p. 159.

3: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RL4 Turkic Peoples RL4

172

namely, to picture the dead person. The figures, some of which reach a height of three to four feet, are made of rude stone blocks, and almost all of them are characterized by the curious position of the hands, clasping in front a cup, or cup-like object. While the general appearance of the figure is highly conventionalized, the faces differ greatly. They are of both sexes; in fact the female sex predominates. Only some of them show Mongolian traits. Stone figures of similar appearance are found in Southern Russia, where they coincide with the belt known for its Scythic remains. These, however, are of much later date, since we know that some of the Turkic tribes who invaded Russia before the time of Jinghis Khan, such, for instance, as the Polovtsy (Cumans), were in the habit of erecting such figures.[1] Though the custom of placing a small wooden figure of the deceased on the grave is known to many Turkic and Finnic tribes in Siberia, these old stones are taken by the modern natives for images of gods, and sacrifices are often offered to them.

172
764

The burial masks have, so far as is known at present, a very limited distribution. They have been found on Tagara Island quite close to Minusinsk, and at a spot about sixty versts to the south-east (Salt Lake).[2] Altogether not more than twenty masks are known from this region. But some have been found also in the Graeco-Scythic tombs of the Crimea at Glinishche. The masks are either white or coloured, and are found associated with the skull, or, in cases where the

[1] Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 240.

[2] K. I. Goroshchenko, 'Burial masks of gypsum and a special type of trepanation in the Kurgans of the Minusinsk District', *Bull. of Tenth Arch. Congress in Riga*, 1896, p. 4.

3: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RL4 Turkic Peoples RL4

172
764

skull is missing, separately on a specially erected stone slab. In some cases it seems likely that the masks had been broken or partially burnt, together with other objects belonging to the dead person. In one kurgan at Salt Lake we find, besides the plaster covering the skull, clay and gypsum covering the first five vertebrae also; in this case the mask has not been taken from the face of the deceased, but covers the skull on a foundation of clay moulded to imitate the features. Thus we have to deal with two types of mask in this region. One is a plaster cast of gypsum, taken from the face of the deceased by the modern method of making a mould and taking a cast from it. Such masks are typical of the kurgans of Tagara Island, and are associated with the custom of burning the body and burying the ashes, or of burying the whole corpse in a standing position. The ashes are often buried alongside of the skull and the mask, and obviously the mask must have been taken immediately after death.

The other type, found in the kurgans called *Chaa-tas*, or communal kurgans, near the Salt Lake, is, properly speaking, not a mask but an artificial reconstruction of the face of the deceased superimposed upon the skeleton. This type is connected with the custom of burying the skeleton in a standing position,[1] and it must be supposed, therefore, that after death the corpse was left either outside the kurgan or in a temporary grave until the flesh had completely disappeared from the bones.[2] And indeed this custom corresponds to what we know from Chinese and Greek writers about the burial customs of the old Turks. 'If a man die in spring or summer they wait for the leaves to fall,

[1] Goroshchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 3. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

3: Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RL4 Turkic Peoples RL4

172
764

if in autumn or winter they wait for leaves and flowers to come out. Then they dig a ditch and bury him.'[1] In fact, in the difficult task of disentangling the Hiung-nu (Turks) and the Tung-hu (Tungus) tribes in the Chinese annals, one of the safest guides is the burial customs of these peoples, since the Tung-hu buried their dead, as they do sometimes now, on a high platform, while the Hiung-nu left the body in the tent or outside the tent for a long time. To this custom is due the fact that so few kurgans include the complete skeleton. The frequent absence of the skull, where the mask replaces it, may, however, be explained by the custom of keeping the skull among the living as a memento.

Moreover, the fact that some of the skulls found in the same communal kurgans have undergone post-humous trepanning in the region of the temple suggests that the skull was not left for the flesh on it to decay naturally, but that artificial means were employed to prepare it for the final burial ceremony. After the skull had been thus cleaned of all its soft tissues, all the openings were plugged with clay, and then the features of the face were reconstructed. In most cases a layer of clay covers the calvaria also. Sometimes a coating of gypsum is put on the top of the clay.

The artificial method of cleaning the skull and then reconstructing the features, so well known among various primitives of Melanesia and, as has been pointed out to me by Mr. Henry Balfour, also of Mexico, might very well be taken for the genuine custom of the aborigines of the country, which were doubtless of Turkic race, while the more refined

[1] Minns, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

3. Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RL4 Turkic Peoples RL4

gypsum casts may have been introduced by the people who brought the Bronze culture to this region. In support of the first part of this statement it is worthy of mention that Father Bichurin, whose translations of the Chinese annals have been made use of extensively in this investigation, says that a people living in Southern Mongolia, and possibly contemporary with the construction of these kurgans, had the custom of 'tearing off the skin from the dead', which seems to be a direct reference to this second mode of burial as being prevalent in Central Asia.[1]

Goroshchenko, the Siberian anthropologist to whose thorough study of the osteology of the kurgans the author is indebted, thinks that the masks of the Chaa-tas type developed out of the casts of the Tagara type. But if we consider the archaeological remains, there seems to be very little to show the difference in age between these two groups of kurgans, both of them differing from other Bronze Age kurgans in this, that they include both bronze and iron implements.[2] They should therefore be ascribed to the late Bronze Age type.

There is no doubt that the clear and refined features of the masks of the Tagara type, some of which can be seen in the Helsingfors and Moscow Museums, approach the 'Aryan' type—to retain this unsatisfactory but convenient term—while the masks of the Chaa-tas, with broader face and coarse features, approach the Mongolian type. But it is possible that the difference is merely superficial, and is explained by the different

[1] Father Jakinth Bichurin, *Collection of Information concerning Peoples living in Central Asia*, vol. III, pp. 197-9.

[2] K. I. Goroshchenko, *Skulls from the Kurgans of the Minusinsk District*, 1900, pp. 8-9.

3. Czaplicka E-4 (no date) 1918 RL4 Turkic Peoples RL4

method of construction. The face as reconstructed on a skull would naturally be coarser than the mask taken from a face, unless of course the constructor were a master more skilled in the moulding of human features than was the man of the Bronze Age of Minusinsk.

It is noteworthy that the craniometric measurements of skulls found in these kurgans do not give us evidence to support the theory of two distinct physical races. The results of these measurements are summed up by Goroshchenko as follows:[1] that the type of these skulls shows great uniformity with that of other Bronze Age skulls, that they resemble the skulls of the older kurgans of the Moscow Government, and that they do not correspond with any measurements of skulls on living people of the modern population of this region, whether Mongol or Turk. The most striking feature of these skulls is their long-headedness. Out of 96 skulls of the kurgans of the Minusinsk region, 42 were dolichocephalic and 21 sub-dolichocephalic.[2]

This brings us to this most unsettled problem: the definition of the physique of the Turks of Central Asia.

[1] Goroshchenko, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 30. The measurements of the male skulls of the two groups of kurgans where the masks were found give the following result (Table II):

Cephalic Index.	
Tagara Kurgans	74.6 (16 measurements)
Chaa-tas	73.2 (13 „)
Horizontal Circumference.	
Tagara Kurgans	522 (18 measurements)
Chaa-tas	527 (14 „)
Altitudinal (Height) Index.	
Tagara Kurgans	76 (6 measurements)
Chaa-tas	72.5 (10 „)